DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 023 957 AC 002 656

By- Duval, Louise

Outstanding Features of the Inventory (BAEQ). Condensed Report.

Carleton Opinion Research Services, , Ltd., Canada.
Report No- CR-13
Pub Date Feb 68
Note- 28p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$1.50
Descriptors- *Cooperatives, *Family (Sociological Unit), Farmers, Fisheries, Forestry, *Leadership, Migration, *Political Attitudes, *Regional Planning, Research, Rural Areas, Social Attitudes, *Socioeconomic Influences

This condensed report on Agricultural Research and Development Administration research in Canada summarizes the principal hypotheses which stand out at the attitudinal level regarding socioeconomic change in a pilot region. Examination of attitudes toward change at parish, social group, individual, and abandoned farm levels reveals a link between the economic situation, degree of social integration, and resistance to change. Study of roles of agricultural, fishing, and service cooperatives and of forest unions raises the question of participation by the membership in decision making. Comparison of population types to leadership types shows the young, dynamic, and personal types of leadership, associated respectively with sociable, informed, and socially integrated populations, as most efficient. Traditional, unstable, and "almost non-existent" leadership appear inefficient. Study of family life reveals a gap between private and public life. Study of political and social dependence exposes to challenge specialized interests initially crystalized in informal social situations and now supported by more formal means. (Tables present population, birthrate, dependency ratio, and migration statistics.) (rt)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

HIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE
ERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS
TATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION
OSITION OR POLICY.

ED0 23957

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE INVENTORY (BAEQ)

by
LOUISE DUVAL

ARDA

CONDENSED REPORT

CR-No. 13

CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY
AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE INVENTORY (BAEQ)

by
Louise Duval
Bureau d'Aménagement
de l'Est du Québec (BAEQ)

A technical annex to the Development Plan, 1967-72, for the Pilot Region: Lower St. Lawrence, Gaspé, and Iles-de-la-Madeleine

CONDENSED REPORT CR-No. 13

Condensation prepared
for ARDA by
Carleton Opinion Research Services, Limited

Rural Development Branch,
Department of Forestry and Rural Development
February, 1968

Published under authority of the
Minister of Forestry and Rural Development
Ottawa, 1968

Roger Duhamel, F.R.S.C.
Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery
Ottawa, 1968

Catalogue No. Fo 47-1217

FOREWORD

This publication is part of the ARDA "Condensed Report - Rapport Abrégé" series, which is intended to convey ARDA research to more people than is possible through the full reports. The condensations are issued in French and English, but usually appear first in the language of the original report.

Much of the research to which the federal ARDA administration contributes financially is initiated and carried out by provincial ARDA agencies, though some is performed directly under contract to federal ARDA. In either case, the research is mostly the work of consultants and other professionals. The views expressed in research reports or in condensations of them do not necessarily represent federal ARDA policies.

Clearly, in the process of condensation, much of the original material must be omitted. While great care has been taken in preparing this condensation, readers are cautioned that quotations should not be made from it as representing the full report. Whenever possible, arrangements will be made for research workers to borrow the full report if the condensed version shows its relevance to their studies.

ANDRÉ SAUMIER
Assistant Deputy Minister
(Rural Development)

CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
ATTITUDES TO CHANGE	2
The Parish Level	3
The Social Group Level	3
The Individual Level	3
The Abandoned Farm Level	4
THE CO-OPERATIVES	4
Agricultural Co-operatives	5
The Fishing Co-operatives	6
Forest Unions	6
The Service Co-operative	7
LEADERSHIP	7
THE FAMILY	10
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEPENDENCE	11
APPENDICES	13
Parish 1	13
Parish 2	14
Parish 3	14
Parish 4	15
Parish 5	16
Parishes 10-11	17
Table 1: Population	18
Table 2: Birthrate, 1961	19
Table 3: Dependency Ratio	20
Table 4: Migration 1951-56	21
Table 5: Migration 1956-1961	22

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE INVENTORY (BAEQ)

INTRODUCTION

Within the framework of overall planning for the BAEQ Pilot Region, the initial stages of the sociological research consisted of three main approaches: gathering preliminary demographic data; preparing and administering a questionnaire within each municipality in the Pilot Region; and preparing monographs for the principal municipalities.

The demographic research program was initially concerned with existing studies in the field, then with various indices directly related to planning, such as migration, social dependence, etc.

The BAEQ questionnaire first of all provided an indication of the economic situation, the social organization and leadership of each of the municipalities. It also provided the two most essential instruments of regional planning: a chart of the homogenous zones and of the polar zones.

By utilizing indices of the socio-economic situation and inventory data, we divided the region into 11 socio-economic zones in terms of utilization of resources, living standards and social organization.[1]

The questionnaire also enabled us to make an inventory of the Pilot Region's socio-economic facilities and to determine their effective utilization by the people. The resulting data helped pinpoint the areas of influence of the region's chief polar zones and the relative importance of these poles. Thus the questionnaire led to certain assumptions about the region's overall socio-economic structure.

The BAEQ's research in the region proceeded under less than ideal conditions. The almost total lack of sociological research on rural Quebec life was an initial obstacle. Apart

---

[1] Sociology, Series E: Regional Divisions, Document I, May 1964

from the Léon Gérin monographs published between 1890 and 1900, there were at most five scientific monographs published between 1930 and 1960. Though two of these studies were on municipalities in the Pilot Region, they examined cases which are not typical of the region as a whole (L'Isle Verte and a fishing community in Gaspé). Moreover, these papers had not been prepared with a view to action or to determining answers to the region's problems. In general, their theoretical frameworks and approaches were static. Aside from such studies as those of Yves Martin, P.Y. Pepin and M.G. Boileau - mainly demographic in approach - there was almost a complete absence of sociological data for the region. The scarcity of dynamic analyses of this rural environment rendered it virtually impossible to make valid assumptions in the field of comprehensive regional planning. One of the early principal aims of the BAEQ monographs, therefore, was to provide some meaningful working hypotheses - not to attempt a definitive analysis but simply to raise the problems within the Pilot Region.

If the choice of municipalities seems to some extent arbitrary, it should be pointed out that we have tried to depart from the intuitive approach and to choose communities representative of different types of problems. Avoiding the normal monographic method of working out a detailed description of inter-relationships within each community selected for study, we chose instead to tackle the problems of inter-relationships at the various levels of social and economic life within the Pilot Region.

This report summarizes the principal hypotheses which stand out at the attitudinal level regarding socio-economic change in the region - the co-operatives, leadership, welfare assistance, and politics. The appendices to this report touch upon such topics as emigration from the Pilot Region, the outlook and attitude of farmers in the region, leisure activities, social welfare assistance and the regional school situation.

Like the questionnaire, the BAEQ monographs have proved highly useful to social *animateurs*, technical people and others interested in acquiring practical knowledge of the existing social situation. The data have been of inestimable value in guiding their approaches and work in the region.

ATTITUDES TO CHANGE

Reshaping a disadvantaged region implies an economic change - either complete or partial - that is revolutionary in approach or works within the context of the existing economy. This change depends too on the attitude of the population.

This attitude to change is most clearly illustrated in the field of agriculture. The farmer, his work and his social organization can be viewed on the four levels which follow.

The Parish Level

In one particular parish an agricultural co-operative has brought together most of the farmers and has become the centre of economic activity. This co-operative is linked with a federated co-operative to which it sells a sizable portion of the parish's agricultural produce each year. The farmers in this parish thus have developed a system which enables them to adapt to existing market conditions.

The Social Group Level

In another parish the farmers and the co-operative seem to be engaged in a power struggle. The prosperous farmers in this parish evidently are most influential and their views on progress for the region are widely known among municipal leaders. Such farmers tend to view progress subjectively, in terms of their particular place in the parish social structure. For them future change is seen as a return to an exclusively agricultural way of life; to a society where they would have renewed prestige and power.

These are the views they emphasize, particularly in the two socio-political organizations they dominate: the parish council and *la Société Cooperative Agricole de Beurrerie*. Among small farmers a "don't rock the boat" attitude to proposed reforms such as the BAEQ plan can be observed, especially in the area of grants and loans for their particular parish.

The Individual Level

Included here are farmers who devote themselves exclusively to farming; rarely go out of their area; and live on the inadequate income of their farm produce, which they must market themselves, often from door to door.

Such individuals are receptive to social change, not necessarily to improve their almost non-existent output, but rather because they see all innovation as a possible means of reaching a reasonable income level.

The Abandoned Farm Level

Where farmers have abandoned the land for several years to work in the forests or take a job in the labour force, we found that the majority would consider returning to the land under more favourable conditions through the use of modern agricultural methods and machinery.

To sum up, it would seem that there is a link between the economic situation, the degree of social integration and the resistance to change. Moreover, in the rural communities studied, social integration is always built around the work situation. It is also interesting that in a municipality where individuals are grouped into co-operatives for purchasing equipment and selling products, this economic group also serves to integrate the social life of the community.

Additionally, where a struggle between prosperous farmers and poorer farmers is in progress, the former tend to value such reactionary ideas as returning to old methods. This deals a harsh blow to the idea of eventual competition by poorer farmers and helps maintain existing economic privileges for the prosperous group.

Finally, the poorer farmer who has no supporting organization to help him attain difficult goals is probably the most receptive to change. However, lack of knowledge about the necessary means to help himself prevents him from improving his living standards.

THE CO-OPERATIVES

Regional planning above all is based on a large-scale community effort to develop local resources. The co-operation of interested persons is one of the initial conditions for fuller utilization of resources.

To be fully effective, co-operatives ought to work in all fields simultaneously: finance, loans, improvement techniques, etc. In the Pilot Region, unfortunately, co-operatives have with few exceptions lost sight of their original objectives and have become mainly financial associations that benefit a small number of individuals.

The role of some of the co-operatives and various individual views about co-operatives will now be examined.

Agricultural Co-operatives

Agricultural co-operatives are very often the centre of socio-economic life in the community. In one parish, an agricultural co-operative founded in 1929 survived with difficulty until 1939, when a new manager re-organized it on a more solid base. Farmers in this parish are prosperous compared with other farmers in the Pilot Region.

Prosperous farmers usually are directors of the agricultural association and naturally present their special interests to the group.

Another group, the farmers-lumbermen, engage in a minimal amount of farming, and do not undertake diversified livestock breeding. They are tied to the dairy industry, receive a basic income of $1,500 to $3,000 from the co-operative and augment their incomes by working in the forests of Maine for six or nine months a year. They live on welfare assistance during the winter, and in spring borrow from the co-operative to defray expenses for seed, fertilizer, etc.

Very poor farmers are unable to undertake livestock breeding, and consequently do not receive any income from the co-operative. Since they do not work in the woods, they are not eligible for unemployment insurance. Moreover, they do little actual farming and cannot compete with more prosperous farmers because they have no way of implementing the farming methods appropriate to their needs.

Thus it seems that co-operatives exist for the "rich" farmers, and the less prosperous ones have no place in them. Moreover, there is an attempt to remove the small farmers by resorting to such economic and ideological devices as cutting off their credit buying and forcing them to return to the old-style plow, natural fertilizing, etc. The struggle is all the more intense since it involves the clergy.

In one parish the sole purpose of the co-operative seems to be to obtain a meagre income for its members. All farmers in this parish are members of the co-operative in the neighbouring municipality, but the president is the only active member. He complains that the farmers attend meetings only when the situation in the co-operative is critical. Otherwise, he told the BAEQ, each is concerned only with receiving his cheque from the co-operative.

When questioned about this, the farmers admitted, with little enthusiasm, that they would be prepared to meet to discuss mutual problems. However, because of a combination of

passiveness on their part and a lack of decisive leadership, the farmers in the parish rarely do meet formally.

The Fishing Co-operatives

Fishing co-operatives are numerous in certain sections of the Pilot Region and an attitude of co-operation at the financial level seems particularly well established in such areas.

According to virtually all the leaders, the fishing co-operative is viewed solely from an economic standpoint by its members. The three private firms which buy the fish give the best price in order to have their firms associated with the fishermen. It also seems that competition with various private firms is forcing the fishing co-operatives to modernize their approach to cope with financial hurdles.

Another interesting point is that the clergy have often provided the impetus for starting co-operatives in this region. This partly explains the infiltration of religious ideology into the co-operative movement. The church often has been the mainstay of the co-operatives.

Popular education also has played an important role in developing the spirit of co-operation. Its influence has been the more strongly felt through methods which appealed to peoples' emotions at the same time as transmitting information to them.

Forest Unions

The forest workers' union in one parish resembles a co-operative in operation and approach. According to those questioned, the principal problem the forest workers' union must face is financing. Its loans are guaranteed by a single buyer. To ease the situation the manager of the union and some community-minded citizens envisage the creation of a municipal industrial fund that would permit them to be independent of the buyer and obtain needed capital at less cost. This project is in the hands of the municipal council.

The forest workers' union is an interesting organization - not really a union - with certain features of both a company and a co-operative. Its manager maintains that the organization functions like a company, and the co-operative spirit is not apparent among the membership. Yet, despite some disagreements, the people of this parish support their union and want it to continue functioning.

The Service Co-operative

A particularly interesting co-operative in one of the parishes also functions as a company. Founded in 1944, this co-operative is designed to help fishermen and the region's fishing industry. If it has succeeded in competing with other maritime firms in the area, this is due to the pride with which the population views its co-operative and its hard-working leaders, particularly the clergy, those same persons who so often have confused co-operative ideology with religious ideology.

In the above observations on the functions of co-operatives in the Pilot Region, one major point seems to recur. On the one hand, the co-operative is an almost desperate measure, since individuals tend not to band together in a co-operative except in periods of economic crisis. On the other hand, in prosperous times, the co-operative seems to become a financial enterprise not unlike an ordinary company. At this point one might ask whether the modern co-operative has been faithful to the principles of the co-operative movement. This raises the question of participation by the membership in the decision-making process. When this problem of participation is resolved, then perhaps co-operatives will be revitalized and be provided with a fresh approach that is more suited to modern times.

This large question is only raised here, not discussed. However, several other sociological studies undertaken in the summer of 1964 were to have studied the problem of participation in the region at the various social levels.

LEADERSHIP

The importance of leadership to the success of all regional planning policies need hardly be emphasized. The most brilliant concepts and plans will fail unless the people accept them and follow through with their support. This section of the report examines some of the different types of group participation in the region's social life and the various kinds of leadership practised within these groups.

Comparison of the dominant characteristics of the people with those of the leaders in the various parishes results in the following types of basic relationships.

The People	The Leadership
1. Dependent	traditional in approach
2. Socially integrated	personal in approach
3. Apathetic	almost non-existent
4. Quarrelsome	unstable
5. Sociable	young
6. Informed	dynamic in approach.

1. Dependent Population/Traditional Leadership

In the parish where this situation was found, the priest tended to occupy the highest rung on the social scale and was respected and supported by the people. The parish nurse also was important because of her knowledge and her services to the people. The secretary-treasurer followed next in line because of his close relationship with the people. The teacher, because of his salary and education, also had an important status in this type of parish.

In such a parish too, some 95% of the population received financial assistance during the winter. Moreover, job insecurity and excessive political activity within municipal bodies had made the people strongly inhibited and socially restrained. Thus the leaders in such a situation exercized certain influences over the people whom in some way or another they helped or advised.

2. Socially Integrated Population/Personal Leadership

By *socially integrated* we mean a parish or community where harmonious and cordial relationships among the people are viewed as valuable goals. People in such parishes, unlike those in a number of municipalities in the region, try to avoid community quarrelling and hostility of the kind that takes place during elections. For example, the BAEQ team found that the people in one such socially integrated parish would prefer to seat an official by acclamation rather than risk a heated community election battle. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the leaders in such parishes tend to be permitted to have *dictatorial* powers. Rather, leaders who speak for the group and represent their interests seem to emerge.

Another interesting point is that although no permanent organized pressure group existed in the parish we studied, the agricultural co-operative society, through its manager, could exert a considerable influence in the life of the community, depending on the manager's personal popularity and the terms in which he perceived his role.

3. *Apathetic Population/Almost Non-Existent Leadership*

This parish is characterized by an almost total absence of influential leaders. When speaking of *power*, the people hardly know to whom the word refers. The impersonal *They* tends to be used to designate all levels of government: federal, provincial or municipal.

4. *Quarrelsome Population/Unstable Leadership*

The people of the parish in this category have a quarrelsome attitude that could be considered a major obstacle to progress in their municipality. Political partisanship, interfamily rivalries, rivalries between new arrivals and established members of the community, between businessmen and salaried workers, all contribute to the difficult community situation. Resentment and aggressiveness are particularly apparent in the field of politics and they heighten the instability of leadership in this area. For example, membership in the municipal council and the school commission changes with disturbing frequency, creating an unstable and difficult situation.

5. *Sociable Population/Young Leadership*

The parish categorized in the above manner is located in an area where two ethnic groups, French and English, live together in harmony. This harmony seems to influence the community's way of life. People in this parish also tend to be very attached to the family rather than group-oriented as a way of life. This attachment to their milieu is best illustrated by the small flow of people from the parish compared with other emigration rates for the region. Moreover, young people tend to return from studies outside the parish to work in the community and to play leading roles in its affairs.

6. *Informed Population/Dynamic Leadership*

Several persons considered this parish the most dynamic in the region. Some attributed this dynamism to the educational level of the people. The tradition of education in this community goes back to the 19th century when a religious order founded a convent, which since the 1880's has provided several teachers in the parish.

To sum up, three types of leadership would seem to be the most efficient: young; dynamic; and personal. Leadership based on the traditional approach tends to be highly conservative and inefficient, and the other two types are also clearly inefficient.

THE FAMILY

The French-Canadian rural family is still the fundamental unit within the social order. However, it is no longer an independent and functional entity. The modern socio-economic evolution has drastically changed the concept of sociologists Léon Gérin,[1] Horace Miner[2] and Everett C. Hughes,[3] who during the 1937-1943 period described the French-Canadians as a people "almost totally engaged in farming and who are almost totally self-sufficient".

One parish examined by the BAEQ has been greatly changed by a rapid evolution of its traditional institutions; its families are in a constant state of social upheaval. For example, traditional roles carried out by the head of the household, in many cases, have not been able to withstand the impact of rapid 20th-century changes.

Many families seek to re-establish familiar norms and to re-affirm traditional patterns. This seems to be the key to family conflicts in this parish. Family life has lost its significance and the families have not discovered an alternative method of preserving family ties in a changing society.

The small number of jobs available in Gaspé and the Lower St. Lawrence areas force men to look for work outside the region, often on the North Shore, in Montreal or at Abitibi. This results in a prolonged absence of the head of the household - sometimes for as long as six months - while the mother must take over leadership of the family. Nor can the husbands get home often. High travelling costs and the need to save wages are only two of the obstacles to frequent home visits.

Young married couples seem better able to adapt to this anxiety-producing situation, with the wife taking over the decision-making and budget administration while the husband is away working. The couple and their children spend the summers together as a family unit, while in winter the wife organizes a different kind of family life without the father.

To sum up, in modern society participation in family life is not sufficient in itself to provide integration into the social order of the community, since the social order is no longer the extension of family life it used to be. The complex

---

[1]Léon Gérin, "Le type économique et social des canadians-francais, *L'action canadienne française*, 1937, p. 84.
[2]Horace Miner, *St.-Denis, a French-Canadian Parish*, 1939, p. 63.
[3]Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition*, 1943, p. 4.

social order of modern society has resulted in a gap between private life and public life. Only by participating directly in public life, for example, can a wife efficiently play a role in society. Direct participation means not merely passive interest in politics and public life but direct involvement.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEPENDENCE

Certain political problems can be seen in the Pilot Region. Examples of these problems are the overtly political approach to almost all voluntary associations, the way in which political meetings tend to take on the nature of a public holiday, the almost institutional nature of patronage in a municipality, and the resulting socio-economic dependence.

In a parish studied by the BAEQ, politics (according to one respondent) is one of the main attractions of the community. Municipal affairs, in effect, are almost totally political in approach. The mayor, for example, presides at council meetings, signs official acts and recommendations for the municipality and speaks publicly on its behalf. He also has functions (sometimes even more important than his official duties) as the local political leader for the party in power, or as the liaison between the municipality and the government in distributing favours within his community.

In this parish, patronage is seen as an honour and the municipal council often views its political duties as more important than its obligations to the population in general.

In another parish, politics has invaded not only municipal institutions but also the majority of voluntary associations. These associations all have ambitions to become pressure groups strong enough to obtain grants for the parish. Some association leaders even admit that members are allowed to lobby.

A strongly dependent attitude can be detected in this second parish, and politicians tend to exploit it. Signs of cynicism and fatalism also are apparent. For example, the residents of this second parish claim to detest partisan politics and to feel that it is responsible for all their troubles. However, nobody lifts a finger to change the situation.

It must be remembered, of course, that this is a rural and traditional society where political relationships, like all social relationships, take on a highly personal character. Indeed election votes are often cast as a personal thanks to a candidate for past favours. However, in this parish some indications of change are appearing in traditional political behaviour patterns: at least as many as we found in the first parish.

To sum up, the fault does not rest necessarily with the dependent attitudes of the people living in the parishes referred to in this section. However, the specialized interests which initially were crystalized in the informal social institutions, and are now supported by more formal means, must be exposed to challenge. We say this not with the intention of passing judgment, but because we wish to place the point on record.

APPENDICES

In these appendices, we use various parishes in the Pilot Region to examine several characteristics which relate directly to regional planning.

Parish 1

The outstanding feature of this parish is the high number of unmarried persons in the population: of the total of 461 bachelors, there are 80 (or 17.4%) aged 25 and over. Bachelorhood is an honoured tradition in this parish. In fact, with a couple of families, the tradition is so honoured that the family line is threatened, because mothers in these two families do not encourage their children to marry.

Another significant factor in this community is the close attachment to home and family. Here, visible anxiety results when school or work takes the residents away. For example, we were told of a 20-year-old woodsman who was so filled with anxiety at being away from familiar surroundings that he telephoned home to talk to his mother, and a good deal of the conversation was taken up with tears of relief from both mother and son at hearing one another's voices.

The phenomenon is also apparent among the children. Teachers note that the children are always anxious to return home, even though it may be no more than a cabin in the woods, at the end of the school day.

However, it must be noted that this attachment to parish, home and family does not signify particular love of one's village, but rather fear of the city and all the unknown factors of urban living. This is a sociologically significant element in the life of this particular parish.

School regionalization, although underway to some extent, is far from being developed to the degree advocated by the specialists in the Quebec Department of Youth. Long distances and the conditions of county roads during winter make it difficult to think of establishing a single regional secondary school for the children of the county. However, local leaders are looking for a workable solution to the regional school situation.

Parish 2

This is an example of a highly isolated community cut off from most of the amenities of life. They think of a city as a place where the children's education is difficult to manage, where women work in mills or factories, and where children grow up with little knowledge of nature's mysteries and beauties. In short, it is not a place where many would choose to live. "We bring up our children in our own particular way", explained the wife of one farmer. "We have no near neighbours".

Parish 3

The new government legislation on school organization and the publicity given to education have penetrated into this district. For the school year ending June 1963, there were 13 female and two male teachers instructing 174 boys and 191 girls from grades one to 10 inclusive. The number of students increased from 246 to 365 in the 10-year period between 1952 and 1962.

About one-third of the population attends school, and this factor is temporarily affecting the economy of the parish. Although the people generally want to provide their children with an adequate education, they would have preferred to wait a while before bringing about the present changes. Some parents object to having their children travel as much as 12 miles to school.

The parents want their children to continue with their studies. They have known long periods of unemployment resulting from their own lack of education, and they want a better way of life for their children.

The children prefer the new centralized system of schooling because it tends to provide better qualified teachers. For several years now all but a small number of students have pursued their studies beyond the seventh grade: 90% of the boys continue past the seventh grade and 50% past the ninth grade; 95% of the girls continue past the seventh grade and 75% past the ninth grade. Boys are generally oriented to the technical course, while the girls are more interested in courses which lead to nursing and teachers college.

Unemployment assistance legislation with its amended regulations is another element in the life of this parish, at times with unhappy results for the population in general. The amended regulations were made without sufficient study of the situation of the farmers and settlers in the parish, and hence, persons in several categories (young men, young women and some farmers) became eligible for financial assistance without

apparent good reason. Certain abuses in the amended legislation have been corrected, but not all have been eliminated. For example, 61 families and five unmarried persons are receiving assistance; in other words, more than 40% of the heads of households are not working. In summer and fall few receive any sort of financial assistance, but in winter 45% of the parish's 144 families receive help. In addition, 16% of the families receive an old age assistance cheque, or mother's or invalid's allowance.

This means that a total of 95.7% of the families receive some form of assistance, i.e. only 4.3% of the families in the parish are self-supporting during the winter months. This creates a very precarious economic situation and an almost total dependence on government, particularly during the winter. The government allocates $80,000 annually for unemployment assistance, and a total of $175,000 if all additional financial assistance is included. As might be expected, individual justice is not always achieved through this system of financial assistance. One reason is the lack of adequate staff to administer the distribution of funds and to eliminate abuses and inequities.

It is understandable in an economic situation such as this that the mental state of the residents would be troubled. The disturbed state of the residents also seems to be a contributing factor to the general disorganization of this parish.

Parish 4

The farmers interviewed have two characteristics in common which distinguish them from the rest of the residents of the parish: a pessimistic attitude and an inferiority complex. To be sure, such feelings are found in other elements of the population, but in this parish it is most marked among the farmers. The majority of those interviewed see little future in agriculture in Gaspé, or at least in their parish. A number say that if they were younger, or were just starting out in life, they would not choose farming as a profession. Others, though they have watched neighbours abandon the land, see more security in farming than in working for a daily wage.

Wage-earning is a particularly sensitive point with the farmers and a source of their feelings of inferiority. For example, wage-earners are eligible for unemployment assistance which farmers cannot claim. Often wage-earners can afford a car while the farmer's money must go to purchase a tractor or some other piece of farm equipment. Also, although the farmer makes an equivalent income, or sometimes less, he usually pays higher taxes than a wage-earner. Many farmers thus have deve-

loped feelings of hostility towards the government. They feel that the entire Gaspé area has been overlooked, and never aided but always exploited.

As for the young people of this parish, they share some of their elders' feelings of discontent. To them, the city is a place where one could never be bored or unhappy. Most go to spend a few days or weeks in the big city atmosphere of Montreal. Some stay to work there, returning only during holiday time to their homes and relatives in the Pilot Region. However, we must be careful not to over-generalize about the young people. Many prefer to stay in the region and try to find jobs and better wages to give them a better way of life.

Parish 5

This particular parish is highly isolated, with many transportation problems which make leisure and recreational activities exceedingly difficult to arrange.

Young people, for example, amuse themselves with a night out at one of the two restaurants in the village, having a drink or two and listening to music on a jukebox. Young people in their 20's usually have access to a car. However, for the teenage group it's a big occasion when one of them can get a car and organize a trip to see a movie in one of the two towns a few miles away.

It is easy to see why young people are bored and dream of big city entertainment and leisure activities. The adult group tends to be fairly satisfied with the traditional forms of leisure, and thus not a great deal is being done to improve the situation for the young people whose needs and interests are so different from their own.

Lack of initiative, lack of money, lack of awareness of the problem, instability among the population in the 20-30 age group (many are off seeking work outside their parish at this point in life): these are only some of the reasons why no solution to the leisure situation has been sought in this parish. Young people cannot be blamed if they look to city life as a way out of their situation. Other young people, however, find just as many reasons to justify staying and making a life within their parish.

Parishes 10-11

Here emigration is a factor. Many of the respondents said that if they could make the same income in their parishes as they could in the city, they would stay. Those already outside their area told us they would like to return.

However, there are factors other than materialistic aims motivating residents to leave their parishes. Though it is difficult to say how strong these factors are, it would seem they influence young people more than older residents. Included in these are the attractions of urban life; increased leisure opportunities with places to dance, gather and meet other young people socially; and escape from social control and family influence. In fact, emigration is almost a tradition in this parish. Most families lose one or more of their members when they reach adulthood.

There are, of course, certain obstacles to emigration, not the least of which are the very strong family ties and *cultural* attachments that bind the people of the region: strong feelings of regional identification. To many, the little community in which they live is almost a world in itself. Some who emigrate in small groups try to re-create their former milieu in their new environment, and so help to make an otherwise difficult cultural transition easier to accept. Different expressions and regional dialects also present a problem for the migrant: some people are not able to understand his quaint expressions. Another difficulty for the migrant is the pace of urban life. Often he finds it hard to adapt to the rhythm of city living. These are some of the reasons why one can always find people from the region who have had a sample of city life and have returned to live in their old familiar surroundings.

We venture to say that properly allocated social welfare assistance could lessen migration and keep some unemployed workers in the region. Development of fishing facilities during the last eight years, for example, has helped to keep within the area a group of young people who seem to be very dynamic.

Many see education as the solution to the region's problems. This solution will work only if, at the same time, the best elements of the population are encouraged to stay within the region and contribute to its progress and development.

Table 1: Population

Municipality	1931	1941	1951	1956	1961	Growth %[1]
Grande Vallée	928	827	1068	1263	1490	60.5
Les Méchins			2804[2]	1495	1525	2.0[3]
Notre-Dame du Lac	2043	2126	2522	2709	2763	35.2
Paspébiac	1790	2093	2326	2468	2732	52.6
Paspébiac Ouest	604	664	705	721	724	19.8
Ste-Thérèse de Gaspé	1045	1137	1276	1433	1394	33.3
St-Arsène	1167	1190	1237	1283	1311	12.3
St-Moïse	867	1067	1371	1435	1406	62.1
St-Omer	884	1212	1312	1395	1692	91.4

[1]Percentage growth from 1931 to 1961

[2]Two settlements have been removed from Les Méchins after 1951

[3]Growth from 1956 to 1961.

Table 2: Birthrate, 1961

	Children 0-4, Women 20-44
Grande Vallée	162/100
Les Méchins	94/100
Notre-Dame du Lac	92/100
Notre-Dame du Lac, village	69/100
Notre-Dame du Lac, parish	150/100
Paspébiac	101/100
Paspébiac Ouest	88/100
Ste-Thérèse de Gaspé	109/100
St-Arsène	116/100
St-Moïse	128/100
St-Omer	121/100
Quebec Province	75/100

Table 3: Dependency Ratio

	Dependents 0-16 and Others 17-65
Grande Vallée	143/100
Les Méchins	91/100
Notre-Dame du Lac	102/100
Notre-Dame du Lac, village	84/100
Notre-Dame du Lac, parish	142/100
Paspébiac	101/100
Paspébiac Ouest	88/100
Ste-Thérèse de Gaspé	109/100
St-Arsène	101/100
St-Moïse	116/100
St-Omer	123/100
Quebec Province	71/100

Table 4: Migration 1951 - 1956

Municipalities	% 15-19	% 20-24	% 25-29	% 30-34	% 35-39	% Average Emigration 15 - 39
Grande Vallée	-16.8	-11.2	- 3.8	- 1.5	+ 1.0	8.4
Les Méchins						
Notre-Dame du Lac	-26.0	-19	-16.4	- 6.2	- 4.7	16.6
Notre-Dame du Lac, village	-21.6	- 2.5	-15.4	- 8.4	- 7.4	11.6
Notre-Dame du Lac, parish	-29.5	-47.5	- 1.3	+ 5.5	-13.4	26.5
Paspébiac	-38.1	-21.5	-23.2	- 3.0	- 6.8	21.6
Paspébiac Ouest	-17.6	- 2.3	- 9.7		- 5.2	8.3
Ste-Thérèse de Gaspé	-15.7	- 3.2	+ 1.0	+ 7.2	- 4.2	6.0
St-Arsène	-37.5	- 3.8	-28.2	-22.4	+ 2	21.6
St-Moïse	-31.1	-25.0	-26.2	+ 3.0	- 2.5	17.6
St-Omer	-31.0	-16.5	- 6.9	-13.7	+26.0	16.2
Average Emigration	26.4	15	11.6	9.2	6.3	15.4

\- Emigration
\+ Immigration

Table 5: Migration 1956 - 1961

Municipalities	% 15-19	% 20-24	% 25-29	% 30-34	% 35-39	% Average Emigration 15 - 39
Grande Vallée	-27.1	-11.7	-14.9	- 8.0	- 1.6	14.3
Les Méchins	-20.5	-21.9	-23.8	- 7.8	+ 1.0	16.5
Notre-Dame du Lac	-37.7	-19.5	-26.2	- 4.7	- 5.8	23.1
Notre-Dame du Lac, village	-15.0	+18.0	-14.0	- 7.6	+ 1	8.4
Notre-Dame du Lac, parish	-59.2	-54.2	-40.7	-20.7	-18.0	45.9
Paspébiac	- 0.3	+ 1.5	-13.3	+18.0	+ 4.0	2.7
Paspébiac Ouest	-21.2	-17.8	- 7.1	- 2.7	- 8.1	13.0
Ste-Thérèse de Gaspé	-40.9	-12.1	-32.5	-23.0	-26.3	27.8
St-Arsène	-47.7	-31.3	-34.6	+12.0	+ 9.0	27.2
St-Moïse	-34.1	-16.4	-33.3	+ 2.0	-25.3	24.0
St-Omer	-34.5	+10.0	- 5.8	+15.0	+13.0	11.1
Average Emigration	33.5	23.1	23.2	10.6	14.1	19.4

1217-3-68-7M

- Emigration
+ Immigration